

A STUDY OF PRUDENTIUS' USE OF VERGIL AND LUCAN IN THE FIFTH COMBAT
OF THE *PSYCHOMACHIA*

Alexandra D. Mina

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Approved by:

Robert G. Babcock

James J. O'Hara

Emily Baragwanath

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ABSTRACT

Alexandra D. Mina: A STUDY OF PRUDENTIUS' USE OF VERGIL AND LUCAN IN
THE FIFTH COMBAT OF THE *PSYCHOMACHIA*
(Under the direction of Robert G. Babcock)

This thesis examines what I consider to be meaningful allusions to Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile* in Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. Crucial to my interpretation that a particular passage constitutes an intentional borrowing is that the consideration of the source text – and of the context of the verbal parallel within the source text – enhances our understanding of Prudentius' poem. My study, then, locates what I consider to be intentional allusions, analyzes them in their context within the source texts, and discusses their meaning within the *Psychomachia*. My focus is on the speech of Sobrietas (*Psychomachia* 351-406). This speech is replete with allusions to Vergil's *Aeneid* and to Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, including direct quotes, clusters of words and phrases, and verbal images. I hope to show that these allusions are deliberate and, in the case of Sobrietas' speech, often demonstrate some intentional undermining of their original context.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348 – c. 410 CE), was a wealthy aristocrat of senatorial rank and an administrator in Theodosius' court.¹ After retiring from administrative service, Prudentius dedicated himself to writing Christian poetry, all of which dates between c. 392 and his death. Prudentius wrote in politically unstable times for the Christian Roman Empire during which there were wars with the Visigoths and Huns almost yearly. He may have died in the same year that Alaric's army sacked Rome.² Prudentius' audience consisted of the educated elite.³ Among the most popular of his poems is the *Psychomachia* (c. 405 CE), an allegorical battle epic, describing a series of single combats between vices and virtues for a human soul. It culminates in the building of a temple by the victorious Christian virtues. The *Psychomachia* consists of a 68 line preface in iambic trimeter and 915 lines of dactylic hexameter.⁴ Prudentius blends classical and contemporary pagan sources with Biblical and patristic sources to create the first sustained personification allegory in Western literature.

¹Almost all that is known about Prudentius' life comes from his poetry. This raises some questions as to the accuracy of the information, a concern raised by Cunningham and Nugent (Cunningham 1976, 56; Nugent 1985, 7). Scholars generally agree that he was a Christian layman of senatorial rank who was an imperial administrator in Theodosius' court.

²Smith 1976, 8.

³For more on Prudentius' audience see Smith 1976, 8-10.

⁴The use of the dactylic hexameter combined with the allusions to classical Latin epic have typically led scholars to classify the *Psychomachia* as epic. In light of its preface and Christian sources, Cunningham finds the classification of the *Psychomachia* as epic to be problematic. For more on this see Cunningham 1976. Although I agree with Cunningham that the differences between classical epic and the *Psychomachia* are significant to interpreting the poem, I am not convinced that these differences complicate its genre.

Vergilian allusions in the *Psychomachia* have been extensively noted and studied.⁵ Vergil, and in particular the *Aeneid*, is the most important of Prudentius' pagan sources. According to Macklin Smith, one in every ten hexameters contains direct borrowings from Vergil.⁶ G.B.A. Fletcher, Albertus Mahoney, Franz Dixel, and others have created long catalogues of Prudentius' Vergilian allusions.⁷ These catalogues have little to no analysis of the significance of these parallels, but they do provide a useful starting point for locating the allusions. In his brief discussion of the *Psychomachia* and its use of Vergil, Henry Thomson cautions against reading the *Psychomachia* as merely a *cento* of the *Aeneid*.⁸ He contends that Prudentius' reading of the *Aeneid* is fairly straightforward: the virtues are parallel to the Trojan forces and the vices are parallel to the Rutulian and Italian forces. Thomson argues that Prudentius sees Vergil's text as prefiguring his own.⁹ Smith, drawing upon the list of allusions compiled by Mahoney, argues that the Vergilian inter-text in the *Psychomachia* is ironic and subversive.¹⁰ Smith extensively deals with clusters of Vergilian allusions and demonstrates how these clusters create a fuller picture of Prudentius' use of Vergil.¹¹ Maurice Cunningham, though not denying Prudentius' use of Vergil, believes that Prudentius

⁵For more on this see Thomson's more thorough discussion (Thomson 1930, 111-2). I have included an appendix which compiles the allusions scholars have seen to Vergil's *Aeneid* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. This outline is not exhaustive but is fairly comprehensive.

⁶Smith 1976, 234.

⁷For complete the complete catalogues see Dixel 1907, Fletcher 1933/4, and Mahoney 1934. In their critical editions, Lavarenne and Cunningham also catalogue Vergilian allusions (Lavarenne 1948 and Cunningham 1966).

⁸Thomson 1930, 111.

⁹Thomson 1930.

¹⁰Smith 1976.

¹¹Smith claims that the *Psychomachia* is *cento*-like in that it weaves together pieces from Vergil, but he does not see the need to view a *cento* as inherently simplistic (Smith 1976, 239-40).

engages more with contemporary works than with the classical models. Cunningham places great emphasis on Prudentius' social, literary, and intellectual context. He claims that Prudentius rejects classical forms and genres while making use of classical diction, techniques and poetics.¹² Ralph Hanna has noted that Vergilian allusions in the *Psychomachia* are found "in war involving a supranational destiny and heritage."¹³ He stresses that Vergil is re-worked and re-interpreted to suit Prudentius' purposes.¹⁴ Georgia Nugent cautions that a strictly allegorical reading robs the *Psychomachia* of its complexity. She also refutes Smith by suggesting that Prudentius is appropriating Vergil rather than subverting him.¹⁵ More recently, Marc Mastrangelo has claimed that the *Psychomachia* is concerned with persuasion on both an ethical and political level. According to Mastrangelo, Prudentius uses the images of war and civil war to convince his reader to embrace the Christian Roman Empire.¹⁶ Mastrangelo's approach is an intertextual study of Prudentius' relationship to his predecessors. In terms of Vergil's *Aeneid* specifically, he shows that Prudentius uses the *Aeneid* to establish "the soul as the focal point of moral and political development."¹⁷ This allows the *Psychomachia* to "stake its claim as the national epic for Christian Rome because it reflects an ideal Christian self in a Roman context."¹⁸ He further

¹²Cunningham 1976, 59-61.

¹³Hanna 1977, 119 note 3.

¹⁴Hanna 1977.

¹⁵In her discussion of the combat of Mens Humilis and Spes versus Superbia, Nugent attempts to argue for Prudentius' appropriation of Vergil. Her argument is not wholly convincing because the reading which Nugent offers for this passage seems subversive. For more on this see Nugent 1985, 39-40.

¹⁶Mastrangelo 2008, 5-6.

¹⁷Mastrangelo 2008, 9-10.

¹⁸Mastrangelo 2008, 9-10.

asserts that from beginning to end the *Psychomachia* engages with the *Aeneid*, especially with book 6, in an effort to transform Vergil's poem. He claims that Aeneas' *katabasis* provides a basis for the *Psychomachia*'s narrative and "the rite of passage which its poet and reader must complete to reach their individual, and national, Christian identity."¹⁹

Some of these scholars make reference to the fact that Prudentius is drawing upon Lucan, but they often do not go much further than simply mentioning Lucan in the context of Prudentius' engagement with the classical Latin epic tradition of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. Much scholarship on the *Bellum Civile* discusses Lucan's debt to Vergil's work, especially to the *Aeneid*.²⁰ Prudentius read Vergil's *Aeneid* through the epic tradition that responded to it, i.e. Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. He fashions the *Psychomachia* in response to this tradition. It is worthwhile, therefore, to explore how Prudentius employs other poets reading Vergil, Prudentius' chief pagan model. I have chosen to examine the references to the *Bellum Civile* because the *Psychomachia* contains some noteworthy allusions to Lucan's poem that have not yet been explored. As far as I have been able to ascertain, there has not yet been any systematic study of the *Psychomachia*'s use of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*.²¹ My approach, in other respects, follows particularly in the tradition of Mastrangelo.

In addition to using the catalogues and observations of other scholars, I have searched

¹⁹Mastrangelo 2008, 15.

²⁰See Roche 2009.

²¹G. Sixt has a catalogue of Prudentius' borrowings from of Lucan and Seneca (Sixt 1892). He claims that *Psychomachia* 50-51 corresponds to *Bellum Civile* 3.573; *Psychomachia* 129 to *Bellum Civile* 4.776; *Psychomachia* 691 to *Bellum Civile* 6.197; *Psychomachia* 709 to *Bellum Civile* 8.305 (Sixt 1892, 506). Lavarenne also notes allusions to Lucan (Lavarenne 1948). He claims that *Psychomachia* preface 26 corresponds to *Bellum Civile* 9.564; *Psychomachia* 129 to *Bellum Civile* 4.776; *Psychomachia* 645 to *Bellum Civile* 5.238 (Lavarenne 1948; 49, 55, 72). Neither provides a discussion of the significance of these references.

the Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts' Cross Database Searchtool²² for key phrases to locate what I feel are meaningful allusions to Vergil and Lucan. My focus is on the speech of Sobrietas (*Psychomachia* 351-406).²³ Although verbal parallels constitute a compelling starting point, they alone are not sufficient for locating the model for the speech. The broader context of both passages must also be considered. There are some phrases that recur often enough throughout Latin literature that they do not necessarily constitute direct allusions to any particular source text. I discuss the verbal parallels that I believe are intentional borrowings from specific sources. Crucial to my interpretation that a particular passage constitutes an intentional borrowing is that the consideration of the source text – and of the context of the verbal parallel within the source text – enhances our understanding of Prudentius' poem. My study, then, locates what I consider to be intentional allusions, analyzes them in their context within the source texts, and discusses their meaning within the *Psychomachia*.

²²Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014).

²³For more on intertextuality methodologies in classical Latin poetry see Farrell 1997, Thomas 1999, and Edmunds 2001.

CHAPTER 2: ALLUSIONS TO VERGIL'S *AENEID*

In the sequence of individual combats in the *Psychomachia*, the fifth is between Sobrietas, "Sobriety or Temperance," and Luxuria, "Luxury or Indulgence" (*Psychomachia* 310-453). As soon as they catch sight of Luxuria, Sobrietas' troops are prepared to surrender, but before they can do so, Sobrietas makes a speech in which she encourages them to stand their ground and fight (*Psychomachia* 351-406). Sobrietas' speech is replete with allusions to Vergil's *Aeneid* and to Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, including direct quotes, clusters of words and phrases, and verbal images. I hope to show that these allusions are deliberate and, in the case of Sobrietas' speech, often demonstrate some intentional undermining of their original context.

When Luxuria first appears on the battle field, she is notably fighting in a style different from the other vices (*Psychomachia* 310-339). She enters battle in a chariot, and she uses flowers instead of traditional weapons.²⁴

non²⁵ tamen illa pedes, sed curru invecta venusto
saucia mirantum capiebat corda virorum.
o nova pugnandi species! Non ales harundo
nervum pulsa fugit nec stridula lancea torto
emicat amento frameam nec dextra minatur,

²⁴Nugent discusses the strange nature of Luxuria's fighting style, claiming that Luxuria is the most seductive and memorable of the vices (Nugent 1985, 41-45).

²⁵For the *Psychomachia* I have used Cunningham's text unless otherwise specified (Cunningham 1966).

sed violas lasciva iacit foliisque rosarum
dimicat et calathos inimica per agmina fundit

Yet²⁶ not on foot, but carried by a beautiful chariot she was capturing the wounded hearts of the admiring soldiers. O what a strange way of fighting! No winged arrow flies from her bow; neither does a hissing spear spring from a twisted strap nor does she brandish a sword with her right hand. But she wantonly throws violets and fights with the leaves of roses, and she pours flower baskets through the enemy battle lines.

Psychomachia 321-327

Luxuria's chariot is described in great detail, and her impact on her opponents is intoxicating and seductive (*Psychomachia* 332-339). She is so captivating on the battle field that the opposing forces immediately decide to surrender:

et iam cuncta acies in deditionis amorem
sponte sua versis transibat perfida signis
Luxuriae servire volens dominaeque fluentis
iura pati et laxa ganearum lege teneri

And now the entire battle line, traitorous, in love with betrayal, with their standards turned around, was changing sides of their own free will, wishing to serve Luxuria and to endure the authority of the loose mistress and to be held by the loose law of the gluttonous eating houses.

Psychomachia 340-343

Sobrietas, alone among the virtues, remains strong; she rebukes her troops for their weakness of will. She plants her standard, the cross, in the ground and begins her speech with a series of rhetorical questions aimed at shaming her troops into standing their ground.

Ingemuit tam triste nefas fortissima virtus
Sobrietas dextro socios decedere cornu
invictamque manum quondam **sine caede** perire.
Vexillum sublime crucis, quod in agmine primo
dux bona praetulerat, defixa cuspidē sistit
instauratque levem dictis mordacibus alam

²⁶All translations of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* are my own unless otherwise specified.

exstimulans animos nunc probris, nunc prece mixta.

“Quis furor insanas agitat caligine mentes?

Quo ruitis? Cui colla datis? Quae vincula tandem

(pro pudor) armigeris amor est perferre lacertis,

lilia luteolis interlucentia sertis

et ferrugineo vernantes flore coronas?

...

En ego Sobrietas, si conspirare paratis,

pando uiam cunctis virtutibus, ut malesuada

Luxuries multo stipata satellite poenas

cum legione sua Christo sub iudice pendat.”

The bravest Virtue, Sobrietas, mourned at such sad crime, at her allies withdrawing from the right flank, at a band once unconquered being lost without slaughter. The standard of the cross which the good general had carried in front of the first battle line, she planted with the point fixed downwards, and she strengthens her unsteady flank with biting words, urging on their minds now with shame now with mixed prayer. “What madness stirs up your insane minds? Where are you rushing off to? To whom are you surrendering? Finally, what chains do you wish to bear with your arm-bearing arms - o shame - lilies shining among yellow garlands and crowns flourishing with a reddish flower?

...

Look! It is I, Sobrietas! If you are preparing to unite, I am laying out a path for all the virtues so that ill-advising Luxuria, crowded by her many attendants together with her legion, may pay the penalty under Christ as judge.”

Psychomachia 344-55 and 403-406

Sobrietas’ speech initially laments her soldiers’ surrender and transitions to a call to arms. The lament, full of rhetorical questions, has resonances with Vergil’s *Aeneid* and with Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*. The call to arms largely draws on biblical figures (*Psychomachia* 374-406). At the end of her speech, Sobrietas rallies her troops with the promise that Christ will serve as the judge of Luxuria and her troops (*Psychomachia* 403-406). Sobrietas aligns herself and her warriors with a powerful force under the standard of the cross, and as a result, she and her troops achieve victory over Luxuria (*Psychomachia* 407-431). Sobrietas’ first

rhetorical question begins *quis furor* (*Psychomachia* 351). The phrase *quis furor* is not particularly rare in classical Latin literature, but it only occurs in a handful of key places in the epic tradition on which Prudentius seems to be drawing.²⁷

The first of these instances is in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*, in the passage in which Ascanius rebukes the Trojan women who have just set fire to the ships.²⁸ Although Sobrietas' speech is far longer than Ascanius', Prudentius frames Sobrietas' speech the same way that Vergil frames Ascanius'.²⁹ The verbal echoes *quis furor* and *en ego* begin and end both speeches (*Aeneid* 5.670, 5.672 and *Psychomachia* 351 and 403). By creating these strong verbal parallels between Ascanius' and Sobrietas' speech, Prudentius leads the reader to compare the two speeches.

primus³⁰ et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
“**quis furor** iste novus? **quo nunc, quo tenditis**” inquit 670
“heu miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis. **en, ego vester**
Ascanius!”—galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum. 675

²⁷The phrase *quis furor* occurs 16 times in classical Latin: Tibullus *Elegies* 1.10.33; [Tibullus] *Elegies* 3.9.7 (or 4.3.7); Vergil *Aeneid* 5.570; Ovid *Amores* 3.14.7; *Ars Amatoria* 3.172; *Metamorphoses* 3.531, 6.170; Petronius *Satyrica* 108; Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1.8, 1.681, 7.95; Silius Italicus *Punica* 15.33; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 7.36; Martial *Epigrammata* 1.20.1; Statius *Thebaid* 2.213, 11.329. Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014).

²⁸Both Dixel and Mahoney include this in their catalogues of allusions (Dixel 1907, 50 and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney divides his allusions into longer parallels, briefer parallels, probable, and possible. He includes this passage as a possible parallel.

²⁹Ascanius' speech shares verbal parallels with Laocoon's speech earlier in the *Aeneid* (*Aeneid* 2.40-49). Prudentius does not appear to be drawing on Laocoon's speech. For more discussion on parallels between *Aeneid* 2 and 5, see Putnam 1965.

³⁰For the *Aeneid* I have used Mynors' text unless otherwise specified.

ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque
mutatae agnoscunt excussaue pectore Iuno est.

And³¹ Ascanius first, as happily he was leading the courses for the horsemen, thus he eagerly sought the disturbed camp on his horse, and the breathless trainers are not able to hold him back. “What strange madness is this? Where, where are you hurrying to now, alas wretched citizens? You are not burning the enemy nor the hostile camps of the Argives, but your hopes. Look! It is I, your Ascanius!” Before their feet he cast the pretend helmet that he was wearing when he was invoking images of war in play. At the same time Aeneas runs up, as do squadrons of Trojans. But those women scatter in fear through separate parts of the shore here and there, and they stealthily head for the woods and hollow rocks, anywhere they can find. They regret the undertaking and the light, and changed they recognize their kin, and Juno has been shaken out from their chest.

Aeneid 5.670-677

In this passage, the question *quis furor* is located at the beginning of the line as it is in the *Psychomachia*. The phrase *quo nunc, quo tenditis* is similar in structure and meaning to *quo ruitis* in the *Psychomachia* (*Aeneid* 5.670 and *Psychomachia* 352). Although the wording is not exactly the same, the sentiment and structure are similar in both passages. They are both rhetorical questions that emphasize the recklessness with which the addressees are behaving. The final verbal parallel is at the end of Sobrietas’ speech.³² Ascanius concludes his speech with the exclamation *en, ego vester / Ascanius* (*Aeneid* 5. 672-673).³³ The same

³¹All translations of the *Aeneid* are my own unless otherwise specified.

³² So far as I know, this parallel is not mentioned in any previous scholarship.

³³The phrase *en ego* occurs 27 times in classical Latin: Cicero *Post reditum ad Quirites oratio* 18.1; Horace *Satires* 1.1.15; Vergil *Aeneid* 5.672, 7.452; Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.7.6, 8.4.11; Tibullus *Elegies* 1.2.25; Ovid *Amores* 1.2.19, 3.2.26, *Ars Amatoria* 3.598, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.1.45, 2.3.25, 4.4.15, 4.15.19, *Fasti* 3.554, 5.459, *Heroides* 4.61, 6.114, 14.119, *Metamorphoses* 6.206, 14.33, *Tristia* 3.7.45; Calpurnius Siculus *Eclogues* 7.43; Silius Italicus *Punica* 11.85; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 3.514; Pliny the Elder *Natural Histories*

phrase also concludes Sobrietas' speech. She asserts her authority by aligning herself with Christ, which is ultimately what makes her more successful than Ascanius, who is able to rely on no such powerful force.

Verbal echoes are not the only indication that Ascanius' speech is a model for Sobrietas'. In this passage of the *Aeneid*, Ascanius is a voice of reason, making him an ideal candidate as a model for Sobrietas. Both Ascanius and Sobrietas are addressing women. Whereas Sobrietas is attempting to persuade her troops to fight, Ascanius' purpose is not to persuade the Trojan women, but to reproach them for burning the ships. The Trojan women have already made their mistake whereas Sobrietas' troops have not yet surrendered.

The burning of the ships takes place during the funeral games for Anchises. Ascanius is taking part in the *lusus Troiae* when the Trojans receive word that the ships are on fire; he is playing at war. Ascanius goes from mock war to evoking warfare in his speech. He rebukes the women using words such as *hostis*, "enemy," and *castra*, "military camps" (*Aeneid* 5. 671). Ascanius throws his helmet on the ground (*inanem galeam*, *Aeneid* 5.673-674). This likens the Trojan women's actions to actions of war.³⁴ Sobrietas, on the other hand, speaks in an unequivocally military context, in the midst of a battle. Ascanius emphasizes the harm the women have done to themselves and to the Trojans by their actions (*non hostem inimicaque castra / Argium, vestras spes uritis*, *Aeneid* 5.671-672). Similarly, Sobrietas emphasizes the harm that the troops are about to do to themselves and to the soul

21.12.3; Tacitus *Histories* 4.32.4. Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014).

³⁴*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?* "Where, where are you wicked men rushing off to?" (Horace *Epode* 7.1, translation is my own). This verbal parallel with *quo nunc quo tenditis* may suggest *Epode* 7 as a model for Ascanius' speech (*Aeneid* 5.670). The speaker of *Epode* 7 laments the civil wars in Rome. This allusion strengthens the image of warfare in Ascanius' speech.

by willingly surrendering (*sponte sua*, *Psychomachia* 341). Her question *quis furor* is an attempt both to persuade and to reprimand. The Trojan women are under the influence of Juno much like Sobrietas' troops are enthralled by Luxuria. In the *Aeneid*, the burning of the ships is ultimately only a setback for the Trojans on their way to found their new city. It does not prevent the group as a whole from reaching its goal, but the women are left behind after the destruction they have caused.³⁵ Sobrietas is ultimately successful in achieving her goal, because she is able to anticipate her troops' potentially destructive actions. In this way, Prudentius adapts the Vergilian passage, presenting a more capable leader whose success was greater than Ascanius'.

The second portion of Sobrietas' first question *insanas agitat caligine mentes?* echoes a part of Latinus' speech in *Aeneid* 12 *quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?* "why I am carried back so many times? What madness changes my mind?" (*Psychomachia* 352 and *Aeneid* 12.37).³⁶

"quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?"³⁷
 si Turno extincto socios sum ascire paratus,
 cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?
 quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet 40
 Italia, ad mortem si te (fors dicta refutet!)
 prodiderim, natam et conubia nostra petentem?
 respice res bello varias, miserere parentis
 longaevi, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe

³⁵Scholars disagree on how severe the burning of the ships is. The physical damage to the ships is not significant, but the event turns out to be a major blow to morale, particularly Aeneas'. Shortly after the Trojans discover the burning ships, Aeneas prays that Jupiter either extinguishes the flames or kills him (*Aeneid* 5.685-692). After Jupiter puts out the flames, Aeneas, still despondent, considers giving up the mission and settling in Sicily (*Aeneid* 5.700-703). For further discussion see Otis 1964, Putnam 1965, Galinsky 1968, Holt 1979/80, and Nugent 1992.

³⁶So far as I know, this parallel is not mentioned in any previous scholarship.

³⁷The half-line *quae mentem insania mutat* also occurs at *Aeneid* 4.595 in the same line position. Dido lamenting Aeneas' departure begins to wonder what stopped her from harming Aeneas and his men when they landed. She is talking to herself in the middle of her curse in which she invokes multiple gods. The verbal echo does not seem to be sufficient evidence to argue for Prudentius' use of this passage in Sobrietas' speech.

dividit.” haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni
flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo. 45

“Why I am carried back so many times? What madness changes my mind? If I am prepared to adopt the Trojans as allies with Turnus dead, why don’t I stop these battles with him unharmed instead? What will your Rutulian kinsmen say? What will the rest of Italy say if I hand you over to death (may fortune refute these words!) you who are seeking my daughter in marriage? Consider the varied circumstances in war; pity your aged father, now sad; his country Ardea separates him far from us.” The violence of Turnus is not at all checked by these words; it grows and it becomes sicker with the healing.

Aeneid 12.37-46

This allusion is more complex than the others because it is not a direct quote. The words *mentem* and *insania* are adapted to *insanas* and *mentes* (*Aeneid* 12.37 and *Psychomachia* 531). At this point in the *Aeneid*, Latinus is trying—but failing—to convince Turnus not to fight Aeneas in single combat. Latinus wants to discourage fighting which is harmful to the addressee. Sobrietas is urging her troops to fight for their benefit and the benefit of the soul. Latinus is unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade his audience, but Sobrietas is not. This is another instance of inversion of the pagan models.

Sobrietas’ second rhetorical question begins *quo ruitis*,³⁸ evoking a passage in *Aeneid* 12 in which Aeneas’ troops continue to fight with the Rutulians even though he and Turnus have made an agreement to meet in single combat.³⁹

At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:

³⁸The phrase *quo ruitis* occurs 5 times in classical Latin: Horace *Epode* 7.1; Vergil *Aeneid* 12.313; Ovid *Heroides* 13.130, 13.131, *Fasti* 2.225. *quo* plus some form of *ruere* occurs an additional 13 times: Vergil *Aeneid* 2.520, 4.429; Propertius *Elegies* 4.1b.71; Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 4.34.2, 38.21.8; Ovid *Heroides* 16.123; Pliny the Younger *Epistles* 9.13.11; Silius Italicus *Punica* 2.311, 2.643, 12.703, 16.409; Statius *Thebaid* 8.338, 10.931. Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014).

³⁹Dexel, Mahoney, and Lavarenne included this parallel in their catalogues. None provide any analysis (Dexel 1907, 50, Lavarenne 1948, 62, and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney includes this as a possible reference.

“quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges. mihi ius concurrere soli; 315
me sinite atque auferte metus. ego foedera faxo
firma manu; Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.”

But pious Aeneas was stretching out his unarmed hand, and with an uncovered head and a shout he was addressing his men: “Where are you rushing? What is this sudden discord rising up? Collect your anger! The treaty has already been struck, and all of the terms have been put together. It is right that I alone fight; let me and put away your fear. I will make these treaties firm with my hand. Now these sacred rites owe me Turnus.”

Aeneid 12.311-317

Quo ruitis appears in the same position in the line in both the *Aeneid* and the *Psychomachia* (*Aeneid* 12.313 and *Psychomachia* 352). In this particular instance, Aeneas offers a logical model for Sobrietas since he is acting as a voice of reason and self-restraint, and unlike Ascanius’ speech in book 5, this speech is made in an actual battle.⁴⁰ Both Aeneas and Sobrietas are addressing their troops, but Aeneas is trying to prevent his troops from fighting whereas Sobrietas is trying to encourage her troops to fight. Aeneas’ forces are reckless in a different way than Sobrietas’. Aeneas’ troops are disorganized and fighting when they should be respecting the treaty. In the chaos of the situation, Aeneas is shot in the leg by an unknown assailant (*Aeneid* 12.318-323). He does not have the same control over the situation that Sobrietas has over her circumstances. She can anticipate the harm her troops are about to cause before it happens. Her troops listen to her before it is too late, and the only one who is ultimately harmed is the enemy Luxuria.

⁴⁰*Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?* “Where, where are you wicked men rushing off to?” (Horace *Epode* 7.1). This verbal parallel with *quo ruitis* may suggest *Epode* 7 as a model for Aeneas’ speech (*Aeneid* 12.313). This speech has a model in common with Ascanius’ speech in book 5.

CHAPTER 3: ALLUSIONS TO LUCAN'S *BELLUM CIVILE*

Prudentius' use of *quis furor* is also drawing on Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. In Lucan, the phrase occurs three times at the beginning of a line.⁴¹ The first of these passages is at the beginning of the poem. The *Bellum Civile* begins with the narrator decrying the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. He addresses his lament to Roman citizens who are fighting each other.⁴²

quis⁴³ **furor**, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri?
gentibus invis Latium praeberere cruorem
cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis 10
Ausoniis umbraque erraret Crassus inulta
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?

What⁴⁴ madness is this, o citizens? What is this great license of the sword? Did it please you to offer Latin blood to the enemy races when haughty Babylon ought to be deprived of Italian trophies and Crassus wanders with his shade unavenged? Was it pleasing to wage wars that would have no triumphs?

Bellum Civile 1.8-12

⁴¹These are *Bellum Civile* 1.8, 1.681, and 7.95. Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (Cross Database Searchtool). [www.http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/](http://clt.brepolis.net/cds/) (accessed 20 April 2014). So far as I know, these parallels are not mentioned in any previous scholarship.

⁴²This passage, like the *Aeneid* 5 and 12 passages appears to be engaging with *Epode* 7 of Horace. I do not see enough parallels in *Epode* 7 to argue for Prudentius' use of it. For more on the influence of *Epode* 7 on the opening of the *Bellum Civile* see Roche 2009 ad loc. Dexel and Mahoney have both included *Epode* 7.1 in their catalogues. Neither provides any analysis (Dexel 1907, 50 and Mahoney 1934, 63). Mahoney includes this as a possible reference.

⁴³For the *Bellum Civile* I have used Shackleton-Bailey's text unless otherwise noted (Shackleton-Bailey 1988).

⁴⁴All translations of the *Bellum Civile* are my own unless otherwise specified.

The verbal echo of *quis furor* is a strong one. Just as in *Psychomachia* 351, so here in *Bellum Civile* 1.8, *quis furor* uses the same words, has the same position in the line, and is also part of a rhetorical question. But the similarities continue. In both instances this *furor* drives the addressees to do something undesirable and harmful to themselves. The narrator of the *Bellum Civile* is rebuking the Roman citizens for participating in civil war. He refers specifically to the battles between Caesar and Pompey, chiefly that at Pharsalus, but throughout the poem the reader is reminded that Pharsalus is only the beginning of the civil wars that will destroy Rome.⁴⁵

The goals of the two speakers of the passages are different. Whereas Lucan's narrator aims to discourage the Roman citizens from fighting, Sobrietas aspires to rouse the troops to stand their ground and fight. In the *Bellum Civile*, the narrator views the battle of Pharsalus as the pivotal event that began Rome's downfall. Although he often sympathizes with Pompey more than with Caesar, the narrator faults both sides for undertaking the war.⁴⁶ This attitude toward civil war begins in the first line of the *Bellum Civile* and pervades the rest of the poem.⁴⁷

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos
iusque datum sceleri canimus...

We sing of wars more than civil throughout the Emathian fields and
legality bestowed on crime.

Bellum Civile 1.1-2

Lucan describes the war as "more than civil;" it is even between family members (*Bellum*

⁴⁵For more on this theme see Roche 2009. The Roman matron at the end of Book 1 who has a vision of Philippi is an example of this motif (*Bellum Civile* 673-695). At the end of her vision she says: *vidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos* "I have now seen Philippi, Phoebus" (*Bellum Civile* 1.694)

⁴⁶See Roche 2009.

⁴⁷Lucan, following Vergil and others, employs the epic convention of beginning his poem with the subject. For more on this see Roche 2009 ad loc. Prudentius also follows this convention; his first word of his first hexameter is *Christe*, making the subject of his poem Christ (*Psychomachia* 1).

Civile 1.1).⁴⁸ Prudentius' battle, however, is even more intimate than Lucan's – it is a battle within a single person, within a single soul. Sobrietas wages war because it is necessary for the survival and salvation of the soul. As far as Prudentius is concerned, there is, from a moral perspective, definitely a right and a wrong side in each of the battles. In this particular battle, Sobrietas is on the right side. Lucan's narrator sees destruction for Rome in undertaking the battle, but Sobrietas sees destruction for the soul by not undertaking the battle. In this allusion, Prudentius undermines Lucan and gives the quote a different meaning.

Prudentius may also be alluding to the speech of the Roman matron at the end of *Bellum Civile* 1. This speech also contains the phrase *quis furor*. In this passage, a Roman matron has a vision of the destruction that the battle of Pharsalus will bring. She witnesses not only the immediate aftermath with the death of Pompey, but also the future destruction of the battle of Philippi (*Bellum Civile* 1.683-686 and 1.694).

“quo feror, o Paeon? qua me super aethera raptam
constituis terra? uideo Pangaea nivosis
cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos. 680
Quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce, quo tela manusque
Romanae miscent acies, bellumque sine hoste est?”

“Where am I being carried to, Paeon? On which land are you setting me taken up above the air? I see Pangaea white with snowy ridges and broad Philippi under Haemus' crag. Teach, Phoebus, what madness this is. Why do Roman battle lines mix hands and weapons? What war is this without an enemy?”

Bellum Civile 1.678-682

Unlike the speeches of Ascanius, Aeneas, Latinus, and Lucan's narrator, this speech is spoken by a woman. The Roman matron prays that she will not witness the battle that she has

⁴⁸This is a common theme in civil war poetry that Lucan was drawing on. For more on this see Roche 2009.

already seen unfold, but the war is inevitable, so the prayer is ultimately unanswered.⁴⁹ This is also a lament for Rome in which the speaker sees the war to be destructive for all parties involved because there is no enemy side. This continues the theme introduced by Lucan's narrator.⁵⁰ Sobrietas is also a woman and also makes a prayer, but her prayer does not go unheard (*nunc prece mixta, Psychomachia* 350). Her God is both on her side and superior to the god of the Roman matron. Smith⁵¹ has discussed Prudentius' engagement with the *Aeneid* 6.56 in *Psychomachia* 1.⁵²

Christe, graves hominum semper miserate labores

Christ, always pity the heavy struggles of men

Psychomachia 1

“Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores”

“Phoebus, always pity the heavy struggles of Troy”

Aeneid 6.56

Smith has convincingly argued that from the outset of the poem, Prudentius aims to replace Phoebus Apollo with Christ.⁵³ Mastrangelo has suggested that this opening puts Prudentius' whole poem in connection with *Aeneid* 6.⁵⁴ The Roman matron in Lucan also relies on

⁴⁹A chief model for the Roman matron is the Sibyl of *Aeneid* 6. This seems to be particularly significant for Prudentius who sets up his poem as a response to *Aeneid* 6. For more on the models for the Roman matron see Roche 2009 ad loc.

⁵⁰The verbal echoes between the Roman matron and the narrator frame *Bellum Civile* 1. These two laments introduce significant themes for the poem as a whole. For more on this see Roche 2009.

⁵¹Smith 1976, 272-276.

⁵²See the following for discussion or mention of Prudentius' allusion to *Aeneid* 6.56 in *Psychomachia* 1: Dixel 1907, 2; Mahoney 1934, 48; Lavarenne 1948, 51; Cunningham 1966, 151; Smith 1976, 272-276; Mastrangelo 2008, 15-20.

⁵³Smith 1976, 272-276.

⁵⁴Mastrangelo 2008, 15-20.

Apollo, who cannot help her or Rome. Her vision serves as a passive lament for Rome; no one is able to affect the outcome. Sobrietas and the virtues are in no such predicament. They can change the course of the battle under Christ. Moreover, Sobrietas does not lament the battle because it is absolutely essential. With this allusion, Prudentius again undercuts Lucan and elevates Sobrietas and her divinely sanctioned battle.

The final instance where *quis furor* appears in the *Bellum Civile* is in Book 7. Here Pompey reluctantly agrees to battle Caesar at Pharsalus.

...**ingemuit** rector sensitque deorum 85
 esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti:
 “si placet hoc” inquit “cunctis, si milite Magno,
 non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor:
 involvat populos una Fortuna ruina
 sitque hominum magnae lux ista novissima parti. 90
 testor, Roma, tamen Magnum quo cuncta perirent
 accepisse diem. potuit tibi vulnere nullo
 stare labor belli; potui **sine caede** subactum
 captivumque ducem violatae tradere paci.
Quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? Civilia bella
 gesturi metuunt, ne **non cum sanguine** vincant.”

The leader groaned and sensed that these were the tricks of the gods and that the fates were against his intention. “If this pleases everyone,” he said “if the moment needs Magnus the soldier, not Magnus the general, I will not delay the fates any further. Let Fortune envelop the people in one destruction, and let this day be the last for a great part of mankind. Nevertheless, Rome, I swear that this day on which all perish has been imposed on Magnus. The struggle of war could cost you no wound. I could hand over the leader captive and subdued to the violated peace without slaughter. What wicked madness is this, o blind ones? Men who are about to wage civil wars are afraid that they will conquer without bloodshed.”

Bellum Civile 7.85-96

There are more verbal parallels between this passage and the *Psychomachia*. Both Pompey and Sobrietas groan before they begin their speeches (*ingemuit*, *Bellum Civile* 85 and *Psychomachia* 344). *Ingemuit* is found in both passages in nearly the same part of the line

(*Bellum Civile* 85 and *Psychomachia* 344). Pompey mourns the undertaking of the war and the fact that the gods are against him (*Bellum Civile* 85-86). Sobrietas on the other hand has God on her side as evidenced both by the cross standard which she uses to get her troops back in line and her claim that Christ will serve as the judge of Luxuria and her troops. Pompey is a weak leader who was once great, whereas Sobrietas is very strong and capable.

⁵⁵ At this point in the *Bellum Civile*, Pompey responds to Cicero, who has just urged Pompey to begin the battle against Caesar (*Bellum Civile* 7.62-85). Cicero is expressing the concerns of Pompey's troops, and although Pompey is speaking only with Cicero, his words are meant for the troops as well. The differences between the speakers and situations in this allusion are more pronounced than the ones discussed previously. Whereas Pompey has resigned himself to undertaking a battle that he does not want to fight, Sobrietas is eager and divinely sanctioned to fight for the soul. Pompey has no control over his own troops, who easily talk him into engaging in a battle. Sobrietas is a dynamic and strong leader who directly confronts her troops.⁵⁶ Although Pompey blames the troops and Cicero for their eagerness to wage war with their fellow Romans, his speech, like that of the narrator and the Roman matron, primarily serves as a passive lament against civil war. He makes no attempts to persuade his troops of his position. Pompey is confronted with troops who want to fight whereas Sobrietas' troops want to surrender. This allusion highlights Sobrietas' leadership and effectiveness as contrasted with Pompey's. Pompey is ready to renounce his role as leader (*si milite Magno, / non duce tempus eget, Bellum Civile* 7.87-88). Sobrietas, on the other hand,

⁵⁵In *Bellum Civile* 1.136-143, Pompey is compared to an oak tree clinging to roots that are no longer strong but is still venerated. "This comparison is programmatic for Lucan's characterization of Pompey throughout *BC*" (Roche 2009, ad loc.). Pompey's inability to restrain his troop from fighting adds to this characterization of Pompey as weak.

reasserts her role. She is called the “bravest virtue” and a “good leader” (*fortissima virtus* and *dux bona*, *Psychomachia* 344 and 348). Her battle is divinely sanctioned, and so she has more to fight for than Pompey does. Once again, Prudentius undermines his pagan model to demonstrate the superiority of his Christian epic.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

The key models for Sobrietas' speech include Ascanius in *Aeneid* 5, Aeneas and Latinus in *Aeneid* 12, Lucan's narrator and the Roman matron in *Bellum Civile* 1, and Pompey in *Bellum Civile* 7. In almost all of these instances, the speaker can be read allegorically as a voice of reason. Many of them are speaking in a battle context, but not all. Sobrietas takes on the good qualities of nearly every one of these speakers, while also serving as a correction to their negative qualities. Her alignment with God makes her a force to be reckoned with. In nearly every instance the addressees are doing something harmful to themselves, just as Sobrietas' troops are doing something harmful to themselves. Most of the speakers want to stop their troops from fighting whereas Sobrietas wants to prevent them from surrendering without fighting. It would be difficult to say which of these four instances of *quis furor* was foremost in the mind of Prudentius. It does not necessarily need to be one, and in fact, the use of the phrase *quis furor* evokes a much richer image if we see it as a combination of the four. Sobrietas as a *fortissima virtus* and *dux bona* stands out among all of her pagan models as a superior general (*Psychomachia* 344, 348). With the words *quis furor*, Prudentius has her chastise her troops for their self-destructive act, by looking back at four models that do the same. In each instance however, Sobrietas proves to be the better general. She is able to anticipate her troops' actions whereas Ascanius in *Aeneid* 5. 670-672 is not able to do so. Ultimately, Sobrietas is successful in persuading her addressees where Lucan's

narrator is not in *Bellum Civile* 1.8. Her prayer has the force of the true God behind it unlike the Roman matron of *Bellum Civile* 1.681-682. Above all, she demonstrates control over her troops to make the both tactically and morally correct decision as contrasted with Pompey who is depicted as a weak general. Prudentius uses images of civil war for the internal battle that takes place within every person, but he treats it as a necessity, rather than a crime. This is all because Sobrietas is fighting a more worthy battle for the soul's redemption, and she fights under the superior Christian standard, the cross (*vexillum sublime crucis*, *Psychomachia* 347). With the phrase *quis furor*, Prudentius deliberately undermines his pagan models to show a more worthwhile battle under a stronger leader. This idea of Sobrietas as the better general is also present in the second half of her question.

APPENDIX

As the appendix demonstrates, the majority of the allusions to the *Aeneid* come from the second half of the poem, particularly the battle books. The *Psychomachia* is largely drawing on the *Aeneid* at the beginning of the poem, but the closer the virtues get to the temple, the more typological (i.e., based on the Old Testament) the references become. There are fewer allusions to the *Aeneid* at the end of the poem than at the beginning. This development is paralleled in Sobrietas' speech which begins with a high density of allusions to the pagan models and then gradually becomes more typological in its references.

Outline of the *Psychomachia* with allusions to the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile* located by scholars

Preface: 1- 68

26: *BC* 9.564

40: *Aen.* 3.80

1-20: Invocation of Christ

1: *Aen.* 6.56; 1.597; 2.143

7: *Aen.* 1.148

21-39: Fides vs. Veterum Cultura Deorum

23: *Aen.* 11.649

27: *Aen.* 7.461

30: *Aen.* 2.133; 6.665

30-5: *Aen.* 12.901-2; 11.697; 11.755; 4.201; 12.303; 8.260-1; 4.694

40-108: Pudicitia vs. Libido

40: *Aen.* 5.287

41: *Aen.* 6.826

42-8: *Aen.* 5.726; 10.414; 6.593; 7.397; 7.456; 9.68-109

47: *Aen.* 10.770

49: *Aen.* 9.414; 2.277; 9.431

50-1: *Aen.* 2.277; *BC* 3.573

53-97: Pudicitia's speech

53: *Aen.* 12.296

60: *Aen.* 10.497; 12.690; 5.329

- 62: *Aen.* 11.664
- 64: *Aen.* 10.541
- 89: *Aen.* 2.661
- 96: *Aen.* 6.605; 3.252
- 98: *Aen.* 2.621, 705; 4.238, 4.331, 4.663
- 109-177: Patientia vs. Ira
 - 109: *Aen.* 6.156; 1.482; 6.469; 1.226; 12.304; 5.437; 4.449; 7.314
 - 112: *Aen.* 6.156
 - 114: *Aen.* 7.399
 - 115: *Aen.* 10.644
 - 117: *Aen.* 12.493; 9.365; 8.619; 3.468; 7.785
 - 121: *Aen.* 1.142; 10.776
 - 124: *Aen.* 7.639; 11.487
 - 124-5: *Aen.* 3.467, 5.259
 - 129: *BC* 4.776
 - 130: *Aen.* 5.694, 7.377
 - 137-8: *Aen.* 2.552; 9.417; 12.729; 5.642
 - 140: *Aen.* 9.808; 10.330
 - 145: *Aen.* 12.731
 - 155-161: Patientia's speech
 - 156: *Aen.* 11.415
- 178-309: Mens Humilis and Spes vs. Superbia
 - 178: *Aen.* 3.22; 6.682
 - 179: *Aen.* 2.722; 8.177; 8.552; 11.770; 9.306; 5.351
 - 186-7: *Aen.* 11.775-6; 1.320; 8.33; 6.301
 - 190: *Aen.* 4.135; 11.599
 - 193: *Aen.* 11.599-601
 - 205: *Aen.* 10.368; 10.466; 10.591; 8.70; 7.292; 5.482; 5.723
 - 206-252: Superbia's speech
 - 206: *Aen.* 12.229; 9.598
 - 212: *Aen.* 9.600; *Aen.* 10.77
 - 240: *Aen.* 12.668; 5.455; 10.872
 - 248: *Aen.* 4.14; *BC* 3.149
 - 251: *Aen.* 7.541; 7554
 - 253-309: Spes vs. Fraus
 - 253: *Aen.* 2.679; 10.651
 - 272: *Aen.* 12.364
 - 282: *Aen.* 10.535-6; 12.511
 - 285-304: Spes' speech
 - 305: *Aen.* 9.14
- 310-453: Sobrietas vs. Luxuria
 - 323-4: *Aen.* 9.665; 12.856
 - 329: *Aen.* 8.390
 - 333: *Aen.* 1.494; 7.813; 7.249; 6.209
 - 348: *Aen.* 7.817
 - 350: *Aen.* 10.368

- 351-406: Sobrietas' speech to troops
 351: *Aen.* 5.670; *BC* 1.8, 1.681, 7.95
 352: *Aen.* 12.313
 394: *Aen.* 2.142; 10.903; 6.458; 12.56
 400: *Aen.* 2.157; 4.27
 407-416: *Aen.* 4.30; 7.456; 1.476; 12.617; 1.115; 12.532; 12.99; 4.216; 10.844;
 12.611
 413: *Aen.* 6.216
 414-5: *Aen.* 1.115
 417: *Aen.* 11.749; 9.580
 420: *Aen.* 12.289; 8.683
 423-426: *Aen.* 5.468-70
 427-431: Sobrietas' speech to Luxuria
 447: *Aen.* 11.762; 4.672
 454-: Ratio vs. Avartia
 459: *Aen.* 6.273; 8.702; 6.280
 464: *Aen.* 6.273-6; 12.336
 466: *Aen.* 12.336
 475: *Aen.* 9.358-9; 12.942
 478: *Aen.* 8.327
 480: *Aen.* 10.602
 482: *Aen.* 3.658
 483: *Aen.* 3.203
 497: *Aen.* 6.173
 499: *Aen.* 7.531
 501: *Aen.* 5.232-3; 6.500
 511-550: Avartia's speech
 517: *Aen.* 12.341
 536: *Aen.* 9.243
 549: *Aen.* 1.475
 549-595: *Aen.* 2.389-430
 551-643: Avartia changes to appearance of Frugi vs. Operatio
 551: *Aen.* 7.415-6
 577: *Aen.* 5.421
 586: *Aen.* 4.564
 590: *Aen.* 8.260
 597: *Aen.* 9.431
 599: *Aen.* 7.636
 602-3: *Aen.* 5.282
 606-628: Operatio's speech
 607: *Aen.* 6.93; 11.480
 624: *Aen.* 9.114
 629: *Aen.* 6.382; 8.35; 6.276
 634: *Aen.* 1.404
 644-725: Concordia vs. Discordia
 645: *BC* 5.238

652: *Aen.* 5.178
 654: *Aen.* 1.105
 655: *Aen.* 5.178; 3.577; 6.581; 2.419; 7.530
 665: *Aen.* 6.45; 6.201
 685: *Aen.* 8.702-3; 6.280
 689: *Aen.* 12.96; 9.438
 692: *Aen.* 1.737
 694-699: Concordia's speech
 691: *BC* 6.197
 699-715: *Aen.* 2.67, 12.662; 2.333; 2.449; 11.746; 12.705; 11.121; 11.800; 11.812
 700: *Aen.* 11.746; 12.705
 703: *Aen.* 11. 812
 705: *Aen.* 12.661-2
 709-714: Discordia's speech
 715: *Aen.* 2.407; 8.256; 10.578
 716: *Aen.* 10.346; 9.580
 726-915: Building the temple
 750-797: Concordia's speech
 754: *Aen.* 10.232
 796: *Aen.* 5.700; 5.869; *BC* 8.305
 798: *Aen.* 5.700
 799-822: Fides' speech
 803: *Aen.* 9.261-2; 9.257
 804: *Aen.* 1.5-6
 823: *Aen.* 2.790; 6.628; 10.633
 834: *Aen.* 8.262
 868: *Aen.* 1.637; 2.486; 1.428; 12.92; 7.170
 875: *Aen.* 1.506; 9.227
 878: *Aen.* 12.206
 879: *Aen.* 12.208
 884: *Aen.* 3.286
 889: *Aen.* 8.189; 3.118; 3.264; 12.140; 6.530
 892: *Aen.* 2.10; 3.299; 4.695
 902: *Aen.* 6.86; 7.41

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